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# Current Background

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## Jen-min Jih-pao Forum on Party Life

July - August, 1972

Editor's Note:

The Jen-min Jih-pao started to publish on September 13, 1971, at irregular intervals, a special page for discussing problems in Party life. Articles published from September 1971 to May 1972 were translated and published in Current Background Nos. 942, 946, 953 and 962; the continued discussions in July through August are now assembled in this issue. The Jen-min Jih-pao did not publish any article on the subject in June 1972.

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# Encourage Leaders To Do Things Themselves

by

Jen-min Jih-pao Correspondent

(Peking Jen-min Jih-pao July 2, 1972)

The overwhelming majority of the leading members of the Party committee of the Tat'ung Colliery in Chihsi municipality, Heilungkiang province, came from among the colliers. After they took up leadership work, they preserved the good work style of hard struggle and doing things themselves. However, there were also some comrades who erroneously thought that "they are in no position to write reports because their cultural standards are low and they are busily engaged in work" and that "it is the business of scholars to sum up experience." Consequently, there appeared for a time the phenomenon of "the secretary is engrossed all day long in writing reports and the leader mounts the platform to read reports." As a result, the reports failed to lay hold of the most important problems in work and were alienated from realities.

This incorrect work style of leadership aroused the attention of the leading body of the Party committee. The leading members knew that in order to implement correct leadership, it was imperative to do away with the bureaucratic style of work and firmly insist on requiring leaders to do things themselves. For the purpose of raising the level of consciousness of the Party committee members in opposing bureaucracy and in insisting on doing things themselves, the Party committee organized all members to study seriously Chairman Mao's "On Practice," "Preface and Postscript to Rural Surveys" and his teaching, "Don't be contaminated by the bureaucratic style of work." In light of the actual thinking of the Party committee members, the exhibition of the bureaucratic style of work and its danger and reactionary essence were sharply bared and criticized and repudiated on the plane of the struggle in line.

All members came to understand further that the bad work style of "relying only on the secretary to write reports without doing things themselves and making use of their own brains" was used by swindlers like Liu Shao-ch'i as arsenic for corrupting the revolutionary cadres, alienating them from reality and making them sink into the quagmire of reactionary idealism, while the work style of requiring leaders to do things themselves as advocated by Chairman Mao offered an important guarantee for our firmly adhering to Marxist dialectical materialism, realizing the ideological revolutionization of the leading body and correctly carrying out Chairman Mao's revolutionary line.

After understanding was raised, the Party committee looked upon preventing the contamination by the bureaucratic style of work and firm adherence to requiring leaders to do things themselves as part of the content of education in ideology and political line. It constantly held discussions, put forward concrete demands and made periodical inspection.

Good results were obtained in particular through energetically grasping the question of making the leadership face the basic level, requiring the secretary to take the lead and combining ideological education with concrete assistance.

Liberating the members of the leading body from strenuous routine work and sending them deep into the basic level to carry out Chairman Mao's revolutionary line at the basic level was an effective measure adopted by the Tat'ungkou Party committee for encouraging the leaders to do things themselves. For the purpose of solving the problems of some Party committee members who spent all their time in their offices or at meetings in the past, the Party committee first rectified the "scholastic philosophy" in work and reduced the number of non-essential meetings, data, table and returns. Meetings that were not essential were not convened at all, reports that were not essential were not written, and problems that could be solved at the basic level were not referred to a higher level. Besides keeping individual comrades to handle routine business, the Party committee required the majority of comrades to devote their main energy to going deep into the first line.

In March of this year, to give impetus to the deep-going development of the mass movement for learning from Tachai in industry, the Party committee of the mine decided to convene a "meeting for exchanging experience in learning from Tachai." At the time, the Party committee member responsible for organizing this meeting formulated a petty plan in preparatory work. First, the Party committee was required to make mobilization arrangements for convening meetings for the basic-level leadership. Second, the secretary was organized to write materials. Third, the Party committee was required to convene a meeting to study these materials. The majority of comrades of the Party committee were of the opinion that this plan was not in correspondence with the spirit of Chairman Mao's teachings--"fewer and better troops and simpler administration," and let the leaders do things themselves--and gave expression to trivial work and lack of depth in work style. The Party committee resolved that the leading members of the Party committee staying at selected spots in different units be held responsible for transmitting the spirit of this meeting and leading work personnel to sum up typical experiences. As a result, the outstanding deeds of strong appeal of five advanced models--including "Chai Feng-t'ing, the iron-man-type colliery leader" and "the 187 coal extraction team, a 1205-type advanced collective"--were summed up, thus giving great impetus to the mass movement for learning from Tach'ing in industry in the whole mine.

The No. 1 and No. 2 taking the lead in doing things themselves was a characteristic of the Tat'ungkou Colliery Party committee in the process of improving leadership work.

Party Committee Secretary Li Chung-li not only firmly grasped the question of transforming the work style of the squad members of the Party committee, but also set strict demands for himself, and he first carried out what the squad members of the Party committee were required to do. For the purpose of rectifying the undesirable work style of "the secretary carrying out what the leader says" found among certain comrades in the leading body, he insisted on writing speeches, reports, and assisting and guiding materials himself this year. Even under the unusual circumstances that such

materials had to be written by his secretary because he had not enough time to do so, he also spelled out what should be written, and after such materials were written, he solicited the views of different quarters, and scrutinized, verified and revised such materials himself.

When Deputy Secretary Wu K'ai-chih of the Party committee wrote documents and reports, he paid attention to overcoming the bad work style of writing documents that were lengthy and complete, high-sounding but void of content, impressed people by claptrap but failed to solve practical problems. He went after what was practicable and effective, seriously carried out Chairman Mao's mass line--"from the masses, to the masses"--and tried his utmost to write reports that were in correspondence with realities. Early this year, for the purpose of going further in launching a new upsurge of the mass movement for studying Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung thought in the whole mine, the Party committee entrusted him to write a decision on the question of study. After he was assigned the task, he personally went deep into the shafts, schools, hospitals, organs and offices to listen to the views of the masses, and wrote a decision on study that was relatively practicable. The masses said: "The problems raised in the decision touch the point and the measures were proper for the solution of problems."

Adopting the method of combining ideological education with concrete assistance and requiring the squad members of the Party committee to do things themselves was another characteristic of the Party committee of the Tat'ungkou Colliery in improving the work style of the leadership. Learning that the view taken by certain leading members of the Party committee toward writing reports themselves was that "subjectively we also want to do so but we are unable to write anything with our pens," the Party committee organized them on the one hand to study Chairman Mao's "The Foolish Old Man Who Removed the Mountains" and to overcome their fear of difficulties. Meanwhile, the method of organizing the Party committee members to help and learn from each other and let the secretaries help and guide them was also adopted to help them solve their practical difficulties, thus gradually enabling them to do things themselves. This year, all leading members of the Party committee wrote drafts for mass criticism and speeches themselves.

Although Chai Feng-t'ing, a member of the Party committee and Vice Chairman of the Revolutionary Committee, is of low cultural standard, advanced in years and of poor health, he still insists on doing things himself and links this up with transforming the world outlook. On one occasion, the Party committee convened a meeting for exchange of understanding in study. Before the meeting, the secretary wrote a set of materials for him. He thought: "The secretary can draft something for me but cannot study revolutionary theories or reform the way of thinking on my behalf." He therefore squeezed out time and expended much energy to write more profound study notes in conjunction with his own ideological realities and gave other people much enlightenment.

Simultaneously with requiring leaders to do things themselves, the Party committee of this mine also paid attention to correctly handling the relationship between things done by the leaders themselves and things done by the secretaries. The leading comrades declared: "Advocating that secretaries should not be relied upon to do everything is not equal to advocating the abolition of the secretaries, but is aimed at making secretaries

play a more proper role." Therefore, besides letting the secretaries handle routine work, the Party committee also let them spend more time in reading and study and serve as good assistants to the Party committee by going down to the basic level, conducting investigation and study and summing up experience together with the leadership. The leading members of the Party committee did not monopolize things that should be done routinely or by the secretaries, but they insisted on making inspection and giving guidance, vigorously guarded the passes and seriously helped them sum up and improve things. In this way, they improved the close relationship between the higher and lower levels, raised the working efficiency of the leading organs and strengthened Party leadership at the basic level.

The work style of the Party committee of the Tat'ung Colliery in insisting on requiring leaders to do things themselves also has had an effect on the broad masses of basic-level cadres and workers. At present, all basic-level units are seriously implementing the improvement of work style in conjunction with education in ideology and political line and are solidly carrying out Chairman Mao's revolutionary line and policies, and the situation for revolution and production is getting better and better. On the foundation of overfulfilling the original coal production plans of the state for two years in succession, the whole mine has registered continued development in coal extraction and tunneling.

* * *

# Consciously Strengthen the Tempering of Party Spirit

by

Jen-min Jih-pao correspondent

(Peking Jen-min Jih-pao July 2, 1972)

Strengthening the tempering of Party spirit and Party sense is an important matter in the life of our Party organization. Recently, the Party-member cadres of the Chupao Brigade in the Ch'engkuan Commune of Linch'ü hsien, Shantung province, held a forum on the question of how to strengthen Party spirit. Given below is the understanding of three comrades.

## It Is Necessary To Strengthen Party Sense

Li Fu-ch'un, a new Party member:

In April of last year, I gloriously joined the Chinese Communist Party, and the public also elected me as production team leader. The praise of the masses made me somewhat feverish and I became complacent. One episode taught me a profound lesson. In the winter of last year, I arbitrarily decided to develop vigorously the side occupation of bee-keeping in our production team. I thought at the time: Wouldn't it be a good thing to use collective money to operate a collective side occupation so as to increase the income of the collective and commune members? Therefore, the sum of close to 3,000 yuan was spent in making beehives and buying bees. As a result, when final accounts were cast at the end of the year, the commune members had no cash for distribution, and the production team had to borrow money from other productions teams to buy fertilizer and farm implements. The enthusiasm of the masses of commune member was thus seriously thwarted. Why was a wrong thing done with a good intention? The main reason was that I had not approached the Party branch for instructions and had not consulted the masses. This showed that my Party spirit was impure and my Party sense was not strong; it showed that although I joined the Party organizationally, I had not really joined the Party ideologically. Having been taught a lesson, I continuously strengthened the tempering of Party spirit and was able to do things more properly afterward.

## Strengthen the Party Spirit through Struggle

Ch'ih Ching-yün, a veteran Party member:

I joined the Chinese Communist Party in 1949. For a long time, I erroneously thought that I had gained seniority in the Party and had gone through many a political movement and since I had not made any major mistake, I was also not far off the mark in ideological transformation. A little relaxation in ideological transformation gave rise to the mistaken thought

that it was disadvantageous to be a cadre. I was unwilling to take up heavy loads in work and I shrank back from political activities.

Through the Party consolidation and Party building movement, I came to understand with the help of the masses that long membership was not equal to strong Party spirit. The longer one's membership was, the more one should give play to the model role of the vanguard in the class struggle and struggle in line. This was the duty of the advanced element of the proletariat. After my understanding was raised, I actively plunged myself into the three great revolutionary movements. Seeing that my revolutionary youth shone again, the Party branch of the brigade assigned me to serve as leader of the scientific experiment team. Over 50 years in age and with a low cultural standard, what was to be done now that I was required to experiment with the manufacturing of "920" pesticide and "5406" bacterial fertilizer? I studied again and again the new Party Constitution. "Members of the Communist Party of China, who dedicate their lives to the struggle for communism, must be resolute, fear no sacrifice and surmount every difficulty to win victory!" This passage gave me strength. I thought: Scientific experiments are carried out for responding to Chairman Mao's great call and making a greater contribution to mankind. Can a communist bow his head to such minor difficulty? No! I and other comrades of the experimental team learned as we worked and worked as we learned. After a number of setbacks, we finally successfully trial manufactured the pesticide and bacterial fertilizer.

The practice of struggle has made me further understand that the Party spirit of the proletariat can only be tempered and strengthened through struggle in the three great revolutionary movements, and that it is imperative to transform continuously the subjective world in the course of transforming the objective world. Otherwise, a person also can drop behind the main column on the revolutionary road no matter how long he has been with the Party.

## Correctly Orient the Individual and Organization

Ch'ih T'ing-shun, Party branch secretary:

In the summer of last year, when the No. 2 production team of my brigade was engaged in planting tobacco, the leader of the production team asked me: "My production team has still some tobacco seedlings left. Can a few more mow be planted?" I felt that I was the "leader of the squad," and although the planting plan was studied and distributed by the Party branch, some change would present no problem. I therefore replied: "All right." Therefore, this production team transplanted four more mow of tobacco than originally planned. After this was done, a committee member of the Party branch chided me saying: "Hasn't a unified study of the planting plans of different production teams been made at a meeting? How is it that you have decided to change a plan by yourself!" This gave me a red face. I thought again and again: Why did I ignore the resolution of the Party branch? One important reason was that I had not correctly oriented the individual and the Party organization. This showed my lack of consciousness in ideological transformation. I regarded the "squad leader" as the patriarch, thus

violating the Party principle of collective leadership. An important expression of this was that my Party sense was not strong enough. From then on, I set strict demands for myself and gave first place to strengthening the Party spirit of the proletariat. Under the supervision of the masses, I constantly carried out the rectification campaign with the door open and drew political nourishment from among the masses, thus enabling our Party branch to march in step and to be woven into a rope.

* * *

# Promote Short Meetings

by

Jen-min Jih-pao correspondent

(Peking Jen-min Jih-pao July 2, 1972)

When the Party committee of the Chungho Commune of Yungjen hsien in Yunnan province studied this year's tobacco planting plan, some people said that more meetings should be held before the planted acreage could be realized. Their reason was that the commune and production brigade convened last year a total of ten meetings on distribution of sown acreage and formulation of measures to prepare land for fertilizer application and seed selection for culture of seedlings, but only 82 percent of the planned acreage was planted. Someone asked in return: Can the problem be solved through convening more meetings? Party committee Secretary Ch'en Te-chih felt that this question had to be solved, and he led all comrades to recall and examine the conditions and results of the large number of meetings convened last year.

Through making recollections, all comrades were unanimously of the opinion that the numerous meetings yielded little results just as the masses said in criticism: "Large and small meetings just handed down instructions regardless of whether or not they were carried out at the lower level." The large number of meetings was a phenomenon that showed there were problems with the work style of the leadership. Only by thoroughly changing this work style and sending cadres deep into the first line could the leadership take the initiative in production, and Chairman Mao's revolutionary line and policies be carried out to the letter.

After understanding was unified, they resolved to change the method of milling around the conference table adopted last year. The commune cadres traveled over mountains and valleys and went to separate production teams to make investigation and study, and conduct education in line and solve problems. Through making investigation and study and holding consultations with the masses, the acreage planted to tobacco was quickly boiled down to the concrete and the concrete contradiction of tobacco and paddy rice fighting for time and labor power was also solved. The cadres also went to the Hsiaoho Production Team to make investigation with this problem in mind. The production team in question adopted the method of applying additional base manure to raise soil temperature and plant tobacco ahead of schedule, thus easing the contradiction caused by the contest between paddy rice and tobacco for labor power and increasing the tobacco yield. The commune Party committee therefore convened an on-the-spot meeting in the place. The practical experience of this production team gave answers to the practical problems found everywhere, and problems that had not been solved in the ten meetings convened last year were solved at this meeting. This year, the commune overfulfilled the planting plan between ten and twenty days ahead of schedule in the culture and transplanting of tobacco.

This course of practice provided the commune Party committee with valuable experience in improving the work style of the leadership, in making deep-going investigation and study and in simplifying meetings. The leading members of the Party committee went deep into realities, and through making longer stay at selected spots in production teams, many problems were discussed and solved face to face with the masses. Full preparations were made for convening meetings that must be convened. Short meetings were convened and short speeches were delivered with particular attention paid to obtaining actual results. The time spent in meetings at the commune and brigade level in the spring of this year was cut down by 76 percent compared with the corresponding period of last year.

* * *

# Erroneous Resolutions Should Be Corrected

by

the CPC Committee of the Ipei Commune,
Kuanyün hsien, Kiangsu province

(Peking Jen-min Jih-pao July 2, 1972)

The resolutions of the Party committee should be firmly carried out. But if it is discovered that the resolutions are incorrect, what should be done?

One episode has taught us a very profound lesson.

In the winter of 1970, in accordance with the standards set by a higher level concerning the building of a river network, our Party committee decided to abandon many irrigation and drainage ditches already in existence in the whole commune, and to construct afresh four horizontal ditches with a space of 200 meters set between the longitudinal ditches leading from north to south for carving up farmland into square plots. When the masses were mobilized to implement this decision, problems were exposed. The engineering work involved in digging out new ditches and filling in the old ones was a big project which basically could not be accomplished in one winter and spring, and the fulfillment of the task of transforming upland fields into paddy fields in the following years would be directly affected. Should there be a severe drought or heavy water-logging after the destruction of the old ditches and prior to the completion of the new ones, the consequences would be most serious. The placing of emphasis on spacing the longitudinal ditches leading from north to south at 200 meters apart would wash away quite a number of villages and farms. The masses sharply criticized this resolution of the Party committee.

Since the resolution of the Party committee could not be carried out, should the mistake be acknowledged and rectified? Some Party committee members thought that "the resolution was adopted by the collective and can only be carried out but cannot be changed; any change would affect the prestige of the Party committee." In light of this way of thinking, we studied Chairman Mao's teaching: "Our duty is to hold ourselves responsible to the people. Every word, every act and every policy must conform to the people's interests, and if mistakes occur, they must be corrected--that is what being responsible to the people means." Through study and discussion, we gradually realized that a resolution formulated by the Party committee was at first always thought to be correct, but whether or not it was correct after all had to be tested in practice. Through tests, it could be discovered that the original resolution had mistakes and was even entirely wrong. If it was wrong in part, the erroneous part should be corrected, and if it was entirely wrong, then the whole resolution should be corrected. If it were thought that all resolutions of the Party committee were correct and could only be carried out and could not be changed, then this would be a metaphysical view that was not in correspondence with the materialist theory of reflection. We were not holding ourselves responsible to the people if we insisted on firmly carrying out what was wrong. It would be

even more erroneous if we refused to change an incorrect resolution on the ground of upholding the prestige of the Party committee. The prestige of the Party committee took form gradually through correctly carrying out the line and general and specific policies of the Party but was not established through whitewashing and covering up mistakes. When a resolution was wrong, provided we corrected the mistake in good time and summed up experience and learned a lesson through examining the root cause, we could guard against making similar mistakes or commit fewer mistakes of the same kind in the future.

With understanding unified on the basis of Mao Tsetung thought, the Party committee was able to take unified action. We went deep into the basic level on many occasions to conduct investigation and study as we fought self and criticized revisionism among the masses. The "squad leaders" took the initiative in assuming responsibility. After the masses were consulted, a plan for gradually realizing the river network by stages and groups according to local conditions was mapped out afresh, and as a result, this plan proved to be more practicable. Practice made us deeply realize that provided we adopted a correct attitude toward mistakes, what was wrong might usher in what was correct, and the prestige of the Party committee would not be lowered but raised.

* * *

# Learn To Win Over People Through Reasoning

by

Shao Hsien-chi (邵先吉)
Party Branch Secretary of the Peichuangt'ou Brigade,
P'ingting hsien, Shansi Province

(Peking Jen-min Jih-pao July 2, 1972)

I have served all the time as Party branch secretary of the brigade since the cooperative movement. Formerly I had the shortcoming of being undemocratic in my work style. I only permitted myself to lecture other people but forbade other people to criticize me. If I heard someone criticizing me, I would hold that he was not "at one" with me or describe him as a "backward element."

In the spring of last year, when spring sowing was about to draw to an end, there was not enough manure in the production brigade. Vexed, my old shortcoming reasserted itself, and I blamed the cadres for not making planned use of manure and criticized the commune members for not paying attention to the accumulation of manure. The cadres and commune members were recalcitrant because of my denunciation, and some of them gossiped: We are now as busy as we possibly can be and have also to work overtime and to attend meetings in the evening. We are disciplined both at work and after work, and commune members are not allowed to cut stalks. Who can be blamed for failing to accumulate manure? Hearing this gossip, I thought: It is a fact that we are very busy at the moment, but no matter how busy we are, we cannot call off the meetings much less can we do away with discipline. Therefore, I came to the conclusion that these were the views of "backward elements." Other comrades disagreed with my view and said that I was unable to handle correctly mass criticism. Some of them remarked that Chairman Mao had said: "In the busy season, peasants are allowed to call off meetings and mobilization of no relevance to agriculture." They said that we should firmly carry out this instruction.

Having heard these criticisms of the masses, I studied again and again Chairman Mao's writings, recalled how other comrades had helped me in the Party consolidation days, and seriously pondered over my own problems. In the end I arrived at a right perception of things, and realized that it was right for other people to criticize me. Too many meetings really had been arranged during this period, and the irrational rules and regulations really hurt the enthusiasm of the masses for breeding pigs to accumulate manure. Furthermore, I myself had estimated that there was enough manure to spare, but now I blamed other people when problems arose. But why did I always blame other people and not make self-criticism? I found two reasons: First, I closed my ears to views different from mine, ideologically fell prey to the "theory of the leadership is wise" and had no faith in the masses. Second, I merely adopted the administrative means of issuing orders without using Mao Tsetung thought to carry out ideological and political work among the masses, but just criticized and denounced people when problems arose. This was the patriarchal work style. From

then on, I constantly reminded myself that I must pay attention to humbly heeding what the masses said and learning to do ideological work. On one occasion, an old poor peasant made two suggestions to me and one of them was "carried out" on the same day. This old peasants jubilantly told people: "Now, my words really count!"

In the past, when summer and autumn crops were harvested each year, some people tended to be careless because more grain was now harvested. When you told them to exercise care in threshing and harvesting, they would say that "there is no harvest without loss." I criticized people by name, but the results were still poor.

In the autumn of last year, I discovered a good quantity of millet spikes abandoned in the millet fields that had been harvested by No. 2 Production Team. When I went to other fields to take a look, there were similar conditions. I would have made severe criticism in the past. But I did not do so on that occasion. After I came back to the village, I summoned six little Red soldiers, told them that grain was the most valuable treasure, and mobilized them to go with me to pick up the millet spikes. The children had dexterous hands and sharp eyes, and within the time taken to consume a meal, they picked up a basketful of spikes from two mow of land. After this, I sent for four brigade cadres to make a calculation with me. This basket of millet spikes could yield twelve catties of millet, and that worked out to be the loss of six catties per mow. If this applied to the more than 3,300 mow of major autumn crop in the whole brigade, the loss would amount to about 20,000 catties of grain, equivalent to the ration grain for 40 persons in one year. If it were in the old society, 20,000 catties of grain would.... When we made calculation up to this point, our hearts got so heavy that we could not go on. We therefore decided to convene in the evening a general meeting for contrasting the sufferings of the past with today's happiness so as to let the broad masses render an account themselves.

In the evening, all commune members of the village came to the meeting and the two production team leaders set a big basket of millet spikes picked up in daytime before the masses. The masses were told the origin of this basket of millet spikes and the computations made in daytime. Following this, Shao Erh-hsiao, a communist and leader of No. 2 Production Team, painfully recalled the history of sufferings of the poor and lower-middle peasants of Peichuangt'ou in the old society. He finally declared: "How many lives 20,000 catties of grain could have saved in the old society! We cannot forget the beggar's bowl just because we have the gold rice-bowl. We have still the great task of aiding and supporting the world revolution to fulfill!" Lending their ears to the sufferings of the old society and looking at a basket of millet spikes the broad masses were stirring with emotion. Some of them declared on the spot: We cannot forget our origin just because we have shaken off the feudal yoke. We certainly must exercise great care in harvesting and give aid and support to national construction.

The following day, all commune members of the village rose early to carry out minor autumn harvest activities, and they recovered from more than

200 mow of harvested land more than 490 catties of grain. Looking at the grain that had been lost but recovered, the commune members joyously declared: "This is called patriotic grain!"

This episode educated the masses and also taught me a profound lesson: It is not because the level of consciousness of the masses is low but because I have not properly carried out ideological and political work. Provided the truth is brought home to the commune members, "the masses will really rally around us and warmly support us."

* * *

# An Ordinary Committee Member

## - Two or three things about the development of democracy by Party Committee Secretary Hsü Tung of the Shanyang Bridge Works

by

Jen-min Jih-pao correspondent

(Peking Jen-min Jih-pao July 19, 1972)

Party Committee Secretary Hsü Tung of the Shanyang Bridge Works developed the traditional democratic style of work of our Party, correctly handled the relationship between the secretary and "squad members" and placed himself under collective leadership. People called him an "ordinary committee member."

### In the Face of Disparity of Views

On one occasion, the Party committee member in charge of farm work made a recommendation to Hsü Tung: The workers sent to farms to do manual work are separated from their families and have to incur heavier expenditures. They should be granted subsidies according to standards set for those on business trips. Hsü Tung felt that this involved care for the livelihood of the masses, and hearing that some fraternal plants also did the same, he nodded his assent. Later, other standing committee learned of this, and they were of the opinion that this violated the financial system and was disadvantageous to the ideological revolutionization of staff members and workers. They therefore criticized Hsü Tung in a get-together meeting for making an erroneous decision on this question without having a collective discussion. The criticism of his comrades aroused Hsü Tung's attention, and he was aware that if attention were not paid to this question, the phase of "what the secretary says counts and the committee members may simply look on" would arise. He made a self-criticism and retracted his original mistaken view. Following this, he discussed together with other comrades measures for improving meals in farms and reducing the burden of staff members and workers.

Hsü Tung was able to accept humbly the correct views of other people. He also listened seriously to the incorrect views to see whether there were useful things worthy of adoption, and he did not lightly negate them.

There was one thing which left a deep impression on all people: The factory building of the electro-mechanical workshop was built in the thirties, and its structure was so antiquated that a cableway could not be operated in it. The higher level had long ago agreed to build a new one. When this question was studied by the Party committee, two kinds of opinion appeared. A section of comrades said that a factory building built in 1958 for manufacturing steel cable had never been put to use, and provided it was overhauled slightly, it could be utilized. Another section of comrades disagreed with this and said: First, the pillars of this factory

building can only take thirteen tons of pressure. Since the cablecar weighs ten tons by itself, when it hoists a load of five tons, the pillars will not be able to take the weight. Second, lighting is poor. Third, the floor is not smooth enough for the installation of lathes. Furthermore, the higher level has already approved the construction of a new building, and it will do for us to study this plan.

Hsü Tung had thought of the matter for some time. Before the meeting was convened, he had checked over accounts with the production unit. The building of another factory building would cost more than 400,000 yuan, and operations had to be suspended for half a year. By making use of the building that had been left unusued for more than ten years, it was possible to save money for the state without affecting production. He felt that the former view was in correspondence with Chairman Mao's instruction concerning "the practice of diligence and frugality in running factories." But was his own way of thinking entirely correct? Was there anything in the view of a number of committee members who advocated the construction of another factory building that was worthy of attention? He seriously analyzed the three questions raised by those committee members, and felt that unless these impasses were overcome, the building in question really also could not be put to proper use. Thinking up to this point, he suggested that they should go among the masses to investigate things before making a decision.

After the meeting, Hsü Tung and other members of the Party committee went to the electro-mechanical workshop and the capital construction workshop to hold a three-in-one combination investigation meeting with the workers, cadres and technicians, and listened to what the masses said. The masses suggested: The cablecar can use seamless steel tube in place of angled steel to reduce its weight. The question of poor lighting can be solved by cleaning up the window panes, and the rugged floor can be made smooth. Many veteran master workmen also stressed: "Those in charge must learn to manage financial affairs. We have to keep an eye on what is advantageous to production as well as to consider the question of frugality. It is not in correspondence with Chairman Mao's revolutionary line for us to leave an idle factory building unused and build a new one." With the difficult problems solved, Hsü Tung called another Party committee meeting to study things, and all unanimously agreed that the idle factory building should be used by the electro-mechanical workshop for production purposes.

Not long afterward, the factory building which had not been used for a number of years was humming with the pleasing sound of machines in operation.

## When Inconsistent Criticism Was Heard

On one occasion, for the purpose of making a greater success of the ideological revolutionization of the leading members, the Party committee convened a general meeting of staff members and workers for the masses to air their views to the Party committee.

As soon as the meeting began, a veteran master workman with gray hair rose to his feet and bellowed: "Let me fire the first salvo! The former Party committee operated a farm for breeding dairy cows to enable

them to lead a good life and promote revisionism. Now, our farm again keeps two cows. You must guard against taking the old road of the former Party committee!"

What the veteran master workman said aroused gossip among the masses. Someone in the know said: "This old man blindly sounded off without knowing the situation. The farm has only bulls but no milk cows."

Although this had not corresponded to the facts, Hsü Tung listened very carefully. He thought of Chairman Mao's teaching, "Do not blame the one who speaks but heed what you hear," and was of the opinion that although the veteran master workman made a mistake, yet his words were serious and thoughtful, there was nothing wrong in his starting point and it was reasonable for him to say what he had said. A leader should not find fault with the mistake of another person but should seriously comprehend the minds of the masses. He therefore carefully analyzed what the veteran master workman said, and felt that two points of enlightenment could be drawn therefrom: First, the workers did not understand things on the farm because the leadership had not discussed the operation of the farm with the masses and also had not acquainted the masses with the conditions of the farm. This showed that the Party committee had not done enough in developing democracy. Second, what the veteran master workmen said sounded the alarm for the Party committee and warned us against indulgence in special treatment. "I have not given much thought to this question. This shows on the one hand that the standards and demands set by me in ideological revolutionization are not high; meanwhile, it also shows my lack of experience in leadership. I am therefore required to thoroughly discard conceit and self-complacency and other ideological burdens, truly and humbly learn from the old workman, and guard against corruption by bourgeois ideology in all fields."

After this, Hsü Tung kept in mind at all times what the veteran master workman said. At one Party committee meeting, he recommended that the masses of the whole plant be mobilized to take part in the management of the farm so that all of them might pay attention to agricultural production. He called on the cadres--especially members of the Party committee--to preserve their natural color by leading a hard and plain life without advocating special treatment.

## After One's Own View Was Rejected

In response to the call by the revolutionary committee at a higher level for implementing technical innovation and the transformation of boilers, the comrades of the boiler house of the plant transformed the original hand-fired boiler into a vibratory furnace-type boiler before the arrival of winter last year. But in very cold days, the boiler was always in trouble and steam could not be driven up, thus affecting heating. All reported that while the new type of boiler used less coal, it was not easy to operate.

Hsü Tung was of the opinion that what the workers said was plausible. He thought that for safety sake, one unit should be used on an experimental basis, while the other unit should still be fired by hand. At an enlarged

general meeting of the Party committee, Hsü Tung first told what he thought and what the workers said, and other comrades were then allowed to air their views.

The vice chairman of the revolutionary committee who was responsible for the transformation of boilers expressed disagreement. He said: "Since the transformation of boilers is something new, how can there be plain sailing?" A heated debate followed. In their arguments, the majority of comrades were of the opinion that provided the masses were boldly aroused, the innovation certainly could be perfected gradually, and they firmly advocated the transformation of both units of boilers.

Having heard the speeches of others, Hsü Tung felt the higher level had called for the transformation of the old type of boilers into the new-type vibratory furnace boilers, and fraternal units had gained successful experience in this connection. Although this plant was still unsuccessful with the transformation, what the final results would be had yet to be tested further and could only be verified through practice. As he thought up to this point, he felt there might be something behind what the majority of comrades said, and he also was not sure whether his own view was correct. He therefore kept quiet.

In the end, the Party committee made a decision according to the principle of "the minority must obey the majority."

After the meeting broke up, Hsü Tung studied again and again Chairman Mao's teaching: "If the view of the minority has been rejected, it must support the decision passed by the majority. If necessary, it can bring up the matter for reconsideration at the next meeting, but apart from that it must not act against the decision in any way." He perceived further that the secretary was the "squad leader," not the patriarch. After his own view was rejected, he could not merely adhere to organizational subordination, but must take the lead in carrying out the decision with deeds. This was a criterion for testing the strength of his own Party sense. Thinking up to this point, he at once put on overalls and went to the boiler house to do manual work together with the workers.

Hsü Tung fought some time together with the workers and brought about some improvement to the reform in part. But the boiler was still unable to pass the test completely. Troubles constantly occurred and heating could not be insured. The facts showed that Hsü Tung's original view was relatively correct. At the time, some comrades grumbled about their mistake in having transformed both units of boilers. Hsü Tung felt that this kind of feeling was disadvantageous to upholding the unity of the Party committee. Instead of taking pride in his having been proved to be "correct," he patiently explained: "A new thing often can end in success only after a number of failures. In the process of knowing a new thing, setbacks are also difficult to avoid. We cannot blame this or that for a minor setback!" He then convened another Party committee meeting. Things were studied afresh, and the decision of keeping one hand-fired unit and one transformed unit for experimental purposes was adopted.

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## Advanced Fighters Full of Vigor and Vitality

(Peking Jen-min Jih-pao July 19, 1972)

### "A Revolutionary Must Have the Whole World in Mind"

Led and spurred on by Party branch secretary Wang Sung-hsien, the Yüwang Brigade of Yühsien--a red banner of the forestry front in Honan province--has transformed more than 1,000 mow of barren sandbanks into orchards and timber forests through ten years of hard fight. Today, the Yüwang Forest Farm is covered with rows of fruit trees, tung trees and tall white poplars.

The Yüwang Forest Farm was developed in the struggle between the two lines. To enable the forest farm to grow healthily in the socialist orientation, Wang Sung-hsien led the masses to grasp energetically the class struggle and struggle in line and continuously criticize and repudiate and boycott the bourgeois ideas.

On one occasion, when intermediate cutting of timber was carried out, a person who described himself as a "purchasing agent" wanted to buy timber at a high price and he approached Wang Sung-hsien with gifts. Wang Sung-hsien said angrily: "Do you mean to use these gifts in lieu of a letter of introduction? I am not going to negotiate with you." Someone advised him saying: "What is wrong with earning a little money for the collective? Money will not bite." Wang Sung-hsien replied: "Who says money will not bite? Capitalist money not only bites but also feeds on people! So long as the line is incorrect, I'll have nothing to do with him even if I am offered a gold horse!"

Wang Sung-hsien regarded state interests as higher than anything else and nobody could shake this principle. His sister wanted to procure two cross beams from the forest farm for building a house. Wang Sung-hsien said: "The socialist edifice needs plenty of timber. When the trees of our family grow up two years later, you can choose what you want." When his uncle wanted to get hold of a beam from the forest farm for building a house, Wang Sung-hsien said: "Let me help you make unburnt brick for stacking up solid walls so as to save the beam for aiding and supporting national construction." In the spring of this year, his family members got hold of two saplings from the forest farm. After he learned of this, he paid for them at the list price and handed the sum to the accountant. The accountant said: "Which of the more than 100,000 saplings you have cultivated does not bear your fingerprint? Why do you have to pay for two saplings?" Wang Sung-hsien sincerely said: "Our duty is to cultivate saplings and we have no right to make unlawful use of them. We have to think more of the collective."

Wang Sung-hsien is such a person and he closely links up his own work with the cause of building socialism. After the Yüwang Brigade operated a power plant, some people from other places heard that the brigade was in need of electric motors for setting up a power irrigation station, and they offered to barter their motors for timber. They said: "It is of advantage

to both sides for each to make up what the other lacks." Wang Sung-hsien said: "Bartering undermines the planned economy of the state, and communists can never take this course!" He thus rebuffed those people. He constantly told cadres and commune members that no matter what undertakings were carried out, we could not merely think of our own interest but must first see whether they were of advantage to socialism.

In the spring of this year, a number of production team cadres wanted to build a number of conference rooms. They said: "The Yüwang Brigade of today is unlike the brigade of the past. What is wrong with building a few conference rooms? We neither approach the state for funds nor ask the commune members to share expenses, and we merely build them with the trees planted by us." Wang Sung-hsien sternly declared: "Do you think that the forests which we own and the barns that are filled with grain are merely for the Yüwang Brigade? No! They are for the whole socialist fatherland, and we also have to aid and support the world revolution. We can hold our meetings anywhere!" What Wang Sung-hsien said spurred the cadres into consciously delivering and selling timber to the state. Today, they still hold their meetings in the orchard on fine days and in the nursery on rainy days.

The Yüwang Brigade takes this course for planting trees without resting under their shade and of making frugal use of timber although it owns a forest farm, and it at all times upholds the work style of braving hard and bitter struggles. When the number of personnel in the forest farm increased and there were not enough living quarters for them, Wang Sung-hsien led them to build two crude houses. In the autumn of last year, the two dilapidated caves in which they lived collapsed, and Wang Sung-hsien led people to carve out four new caves. They devised all ways and means to make frugal use of timber for aiding and supporting national construction. The poor and lower-middle peasants praised them saying: "Wang Sung-hsien thinks far ahead." Wang Sung-hsien said: "A revolutionary must have the whole world in mind!"

Jen-min Jih-pao correspondent

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## A Lively and Dashing Woman Electrician

One afternoon, a heat of molten steel had just been poured out by the electric furnace at the No. 2 Steel Refining Workshop of the Canton Iron and Steel Works, and at the sound of a whistle, the cableway slowly hoisted the ladle laden with molten steel. Suddenly, the giant hook stopped moving and the ladle was suspended in midair. The heartstrings of all were tightly drawn. At the time, a strong and active figure was seen climbing nimbly up the cableway and the hindrance was quickly removed. Not long afterward, the giant hook moved again, and the ladle of molten steel was smoothly and steadily set on the flatcar and sent to the casting workshop.

"How dangerous! The whole heat of molten steel would have to be reported unserviceable if it were not for emergency repair carried out by Sister Ya-ying." The workers wiped away the perspiration on their faces and

warmly discussed the matter. This "Sister Ya-ying" who was warmly praised by people is Tseng Po-ying, a communist and a woman electrician.

Tseng Po-ying gloriously joined the Chinese Communist Party last year. After she joined the Party, she strictly promised to fulfill the five "requirements" set for Party members, and strove to perform her duties and work with a most responsible spirit. A mother of three children, she formerly worked the day shift. Later, due to work requirements, a change to three shifts was effected. In order to insure safe production and to refine more steel of high quality, when she went to work every day, she packed her bag with tools, and moved around the steel refining furnace to seriously check out the wiring and keep the electrical equipment properly maintained. She often eliminated troubles at the budding stage. Sometimes, when a sudden breakdown occurred, she bravely carried out emergency repairs. All workers declared: "With Sister Ya-ying on duty, our hearts are at ease."

On one occasion, as a battle for steel was in full swing, the fixed screw of the electrode arm at the top of the furnace was out of order, and if the disorder had not been dealt with right away, production would have been seriously affected. At the time, Tseng Po-ying who came to work although she was sick quickly switched off the control board and rushed to the iron framework at the top of the furnace to carry out emergency repairs. The scorching high temperature painfully affected her skin and her overalls were also smoking with a "sizzling" sound. But she had only one thing in mind: The removal of the hindrance one minute earlier would make a greater contribution to the building of socialism in the country. She braved the choking smoke and the scorching heat to take down the damaged screw of the electrode arm, and firmly replaced the new one, thus quickly restoring the electric furnace to normal production.

On another occasion, no sooner was molten steel poured out, than the giant hook of the cableway went out of gear, and the steel ladle slid downward, splashing molten steel and setting some places afire. Faced with the dangerous situation, Tseng Po-ying showed not the slightest fear, and bravely climbed up the cableway together with other workers to make emergency repairs. She adopted such a highly responsible attitude toward both the revolutionary cause and work.

Tseng Po-ying not only performed her duties and work in an outstanding manner but also helped the electricians of the day shift make and prepare for use various kinds of coils and machine parts as well as to repair the electric fans and lights that broke down in various units. Seeing that her health was rather poor, some people advised her: "You should do fewer of the things that are not part of your duties."
She replied: "A revolutionary cannot draw distinctions between what is his duty or what is not his duty, and it is his duty to do all kinds of revolutionary work."

Jen-min Jih-pao correspondent

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# Before Making a Decision

by

Jen-min Jih-pao correspondent

(Peking Jen-min Jih-pao July 19, 1972)

Not long ago, at a Party branch meeting of the Huichuang Brigade of Nanyang hsien in Honan province, a committee member of the Party branch recommended the purchase of a set of microphones priced at 600 yuan by the brigade. He said that it was "something" to speak into a microphone at a mass meeting. He also said that he had got in contact with the unit concerned, and hoped that the Party branch could show courage in making a decision at once and carry out what it wanted to carry out.

No sooner had this committee member of the Party branch finished speaking, than an argument arose. The majority of comrades thought that economic democracy should be practiced. The expenditure of 600 yuan involved not a small sum and the opinion of the masses should first be solicited. But some comrades also said that because the continued rise of grain and cotton output had brought in ever greater income the past few years, the brigade could well afford to buy a set of microphones. Furthermore, because centralized leadership was now exercised by the Party, the purchase could be made provided the Party branch resolved to do so. The two kinds of opinion came to a deadlock.

How should this matter be dealt with after all? They studied Chairman Mao's teachings that "we must be good at discussing things with the masses and must at no time alienate ourselves from the masses," and that "one principle of the Communist Party is to rely directly on the revolutionary masses of the people," handed over the matter of buying microphones to the representatives of poor and lower-middle peasants and production teams cadres for discussion, and extensively solicited the views of the masses through them. The poor and lower-middle peasants said: Guided by Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, our brigade had made great headway in the development of the collective economy in the past few years, but there is still a gap compared with the advance units. We should at all times firmly adhere to the principle of "practicing diligence and frugality in running communes," restrict all kinds of non-productive expenditures, and spend money in places most essential for the development of collective production. Some of them also sharply criticized the extravagant and showy work style of the young lords in wanting to make meetings "presentable," and expressed the hope that the Party branch would give play to the down-to-earth revolutionary spirit of hard struggle. The Party branch humbly bowed to mass criticism and decided not to purchase the microphones but to spend the funds in production and construction for winning a still greater bumper harvest in grain and cotton this year, thus making a greater contribution to the revolution. This decision of the Party committee won the warm support of the broad masses of poor and lower-middle peasants and cadres.

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## It Is Necessary to Consult with the Masses When Doing Things

(Peking Jen-min Jih-pao July 19, 1972)

When the question of whether or not microphones should be bought was discussed by the Party branch of the Huichuang Brigade, two kinds of opinion came to a head. Later the Party branch members submitted the question to the masses, extensively listened to what the masses said, very quickly unified their understanding, and made a correct decision. This fully shows that the Party organization must carry forward the work style of maintaining close contacts with the masses, conduct deep-going investigation and study, and listen to what the masses have to say before it can adopt resolutions and issue calls that are in correspondence with the interests of the people and the line and policies of the Party, and exercise correct leadership.

To discuss everything with the masses on the basis of "from the masses, to the masses" is the fundamental leadership method and fundamental work line of our Party. However, when work is proceeding fairly smoothly and some achievements have been obtained, some leading comrades often think that they are wise, and tend not to discuss things with the masses. On the strength of assumptions, they make certain decisions that do not correspond with realities, thus violating the policies of the Party and the interests of the masses and thwarting the enthusiasm of the masses.

Fundamentally speaking, our cause, all of our work and our various plans represent the interests of the masses of the people and reflect the demands of the masses of the people. To insure that the appropriate task is put forward and mistakes of commandism and tailism are not committed in work, we cannot merely start from a subjective wish, but must maintain constant and close contacts with the masses of the people, penetratingly understand the thoughts and feelings of the masses of the people, develop and raise the consciousness of the masses according to their degree of consciousness, and organize the masses to unfold gradually, under the principle of voluntariness, all essential struggles that are permitted by the internal and external circumstances of the time and place.

In the struggle for making deep-going criticism and repudiation against the idealist concept of history of swindlers like Liu Shao-ch'i, we certainly must incessantly wipe out the pernicious influence of the "theory that the leadership is wise," firmly adhere to the viewpoint that the "masses are the real heroes," carry forward the work style of maintaining close contacts with the masses, and discuss things with the masses so as to make fewer mistakes and do more work.

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# Criticism of Revisionism and Rectification Must Be Linked with Reality

by

the CPC Anking District Committee, Anhwei Province

(Peking Jen-min Jih-pao Aug. 7, 1972)

In the rectification campaign for criticizing revisionism, the leaders of the Party committee must bring themselves into it, dare to dissect themselves, continuously eliminate the influence of the counterrevolutionary revisionist line of swindlers like Liu Shao-ch'i and raise their own level of consciousness in line before they can really carry out to the letter Chairman Mao's revolutionary line and various proletarian policies down to the grass-root level.

## Why We Dare Not Oppose the Wrong Way to Do Things

After the new Party committee of our district was set up in March 1971, in accordance with Chairman Mao's instruction on conducting a course of education in ideology and political line, we summed up the experience and lessons gained and learned in carrying out the line and policies after the district revolutionary committee was set up, and conducted a course of education in line. All of us looked back upon the following episode: During the period from 1968 to the first half of 1969, some communes and production teams in our district were influenced by the erroneous line of swindlers like Liu Shao-ch'i that was "Left" in form but Right in essence and lightly changed the ownership system and distribution policy of the rural people's commune of the present stage. At the time, quite a number of basic-level cadres were of the view that it was incorrect to take this course of action. They explained why things could not be changed and asked us to support their view. Some of our comrades thought that their business was to grasp the revolution, and since the question raised was in the field of production, they passed it onto to comrades dealing with production. Although the comrades in charge of production were aware that this was deviation to the "Left," they dared not firmly adhere to their own viewpoint out of the fear that people would say that they deviated to the Right, and they "steered clear of" the issue without expressing their attitude. As a result, the mass movement for learning from Tachai in agriculture was affected in some areas, thus bringing about undue losses.

We seized hold of this episode and asked ourselves a question: Why was it that while we gave lip service all day long to implementing Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, we did not seriously grasp problems bearing on the line and policies in actual work? Why was it that we dared not oppose methods of work that ran counter to Chairman Mao's revolutionary line and policies?

In the rectification campaign for criticizing revisionism, we brought ourselves into the campaign and seriously analyzed the causes of this state of affairs. We discovered that certain comrades of our leading body were affected by the fallacies peddled by swindlers like Liu Shao-ch'i--"politics can pound against other things," "a good grasp of one thing leads to a good grasp of a hundred things"--and they erroneously thought that "so long as the direction is correct, there is no fear of excess in policy." There were also some comrades who had committed Right-deviation mistakes in the past, and because they were once bitten by a snake, they were scared by the sight of a rope for as long as ten years. Instead of actively distinguishing between right and wrong in line and drawing a clear line in policy, they passively protected themselves and erroneously thought that it was safer to be a "leftist" than a rightist. The fundamental cause of these two kinds of erroneous tendencies was our skin-deep comprehension of Marxist theory, our low level of consciousness in the struggle in line and the unsatisfactory transformation of our world outlook. Therefore, once we encountered interference from the "Left," we were so dazed that we changed direction, and there was no talk of resistance.

Through study and analysis, we felt that the ideas of "so long as the direction is correct, there is no fear of excess in policy" and "it is safer to be a 'leftist' than a rightist" constituted the pernicious influence of the counterrevolutionary revisionist line of swindlers like Liu Shao-ch'i in the leading body, and unless such pernicious influence was eliminated, it would not be possible to insure the all-round implementation of the line and policies of the Party in our district.

## Take the Lead in Reading and Studying, Strive To Raise the Level of Consciousness in Line

For the purpose of clarifying the root cause of the erroneous idea of "so long as the direction is correct, there is no fear of excess in policy" and of raising the ability in distinguishing between right and wrong in line, we abided by Chairman Mao's teaching, "Read and study seriously to have a good grasp of Marxism" in the course of launching the rectification campaign for criticizing revisionism, and in conjunction with studying the fundamental line of the historical period of socialism formulated by Chairman Mao for our Party, we emphasized understanding on the subject "socialist society forms a fairly long historical period."

Through studying the discussions by Marx, Lenin and Chairman Mao on scientific socialism, we gradually understand that socialist society represents a period of revolutionary transformation between capitalist society and communist society and that socialism "is not developed on its own basis but is on the contrary emerging from capitalist society, and consequently, it bears the traces of the old society from which it originates in all aspects--economical, moral and spiritual." The fundamental object of socialist revolution is to do away with these traces and to realize transition to communism. Therefore, it is imperative to adhere firmly to uninterrupted revolution and uninterrupted consolidation of the proletarian dictatorship. However, the revolution is also divided into stages. We

Marxists advocate the unity of the Marxist theory of uninterrupted revolution and theory of the development of revolution by stages. Chairman Mao has summed up the historical experience of proletarian dictatorship and formulated for our Party the fundamental line and fundamental policies for the historical period of socialism as well as various concrete work lines and concrete policies. The line determines the policies and the policies are embodied in the line. "Whether or not the line is correct ideologically and politically determines everything." Divorced from the correct line and without carrying out the correct policies, the socialist orientation fundamentally cannot be insured.

In conjunction with study through the rectification campaign, we have investigated at different times how the economic policies of the Party are implemented in twenty-six brigades, and discovered that the most important cause of the inability to implement the policies lies in the interference of swindlers like Liu Shao-ch'i who are "Left" in form but Right in essence. Because we have no clear understanding of the fact that socialist society forms a fairly long historical period, we are easily fooled by swindlers like Liu Shao-ch'i. The idea of "so long as the direction is correct, there is no fear of excess in policy" is wrong because it discusses orientation in departure from the fundamental line and fundamental policies of the historical period of socialism, severs orientation from policy and goes to excess in policy. This necessarily leads to alienation from the correct orientation as a result.

Having a clearer understanding ideologically and politically of what is right or wrong in line, the Party committee, knowing that it is in the right, is able to act with confidence in supporting the correct views and rectifying the wrong methods.

In our district, a brigade which had come into its own was influenced by the erroneous line of swindlers like Liu Shao-ch'i--which was "Left" in form but Right in essence--during the period from 1968 to 1969. At the time, although the conditions were not mature enough to do so, it lightly changed the system of ownership--"the three-level system of ownership with ownership by the production team as the main level." As a result, losses were brought to production, and the per-mow yield declined from more than 800 catties to more than 500 catties in 1969.

Later, we knew that this was not in correspondence with the present-stage policy of the Party for the rural people's commune, and recommended that it mend its way. At the time, some people declared: "The general orientation of the brigade which has come into its own is correct, and there can be no turning back for emancipation!" We accordingly organized the masses of the brigade that had come into its own to study the fundamental line of the Party and the fundamental Party policies for the rural people's commune of the present stage. We criticized and repudiated the contraband of swindlers like Liu Shao-ch'i which were "Left" in form but Right in essence, and clearly told the masses that by departing from the fundamental line and present-stage policies of the Party, going beyond the objective conditions and forcing themselves to do things that could only be done in the future, things always did not turn out the way they wished, and it was vain to talk about the "correct general orientation."

On the basis of helping them to arrive at a right perception of things, the question of the accounting unit was properly solved. Because of this, the socialist enthusiasm of the masses was mobilized, and the per-unit-area yield rose last year from more than 500 catties to more than 1,000 catties.

## It Is Imperative To Set an Example in Carrying Out the Line and Policies

From the changes taking place in the brigade that has come into its own, we feel that in order to strengthen leadership in line and policy, the Party committee at the district level must sum up experience and set an example, and it won't do for it to rely merely on issuing general calls.

Last year, the grain yield of our district exceeded for the first time the target set by the "general program," and the aggregate yield increased by 15.7 percent compared with the year of bumper harvest in 1970. The yield of oil-bearing crops also doubled. However, there was reduction in cotton yield. The reduction was due on the one hand to natural disasters, such as drought and insects but more importantly to the failure in seriously implementing the relevant economic policies of the Party in the cotton-growing area--especially the policy of granting ration grain and rewards for overfulfillment of production. In order to have a clear idea of why the policies could not be carried out to the letter, we conducted investigations at a number of cotton-growing areas and communes concentrated along the Yangtze River, and went to a number of units which brought in bumper and poor cotton harvests last year to find out how the policies were implemented there. We discovered through investigation that some grassroot cadres exhibited one-sided understanding in respect of the policy of "all-round development with grain as the key link" and ideologically attached greater weight to grain than cotton. At the time of criticizing and repudiating the revisionist contraband of swindlers like Liu Shao-ch'i--such as "material incentive," even more cadres failed to draw a clear dividing line between revisionist material incentives and socialist essential rewards. Therefore, as soon as they heard rewards for overfulfillment of production, they thought in terms of "material incentives" and were afraid of repeating their past mistakes. These questions reflected the weakness of leadership work of the Party committee in our district.

For the purpose of solving these questions, we helped Tsungyang hsien--which brought in a bumper cotton harvest through seriously implementing the policies for cotton-growing areas--sum up its experience with weight attached to analyzing the differences between "material incentives" advocated by swindlers like Liu Shao-ch'i and the socialist policy of granting reasonable rewards. We presented the experience of Tsungyang hsien in logical order for popularization throughout the district. Following this, the Party committee members also went in person to take hold of a number of spots and solved in good time the problems of some communes and production teams

which dared not grasp the ration grain policy and the policy of granting rewards for overfulfillment of production. Because of this, the cotton planting plan has truly been carried out to the letter in the whole district, and the enthusiasm of commune members in the cotton-growing areas for properly planting cotton for the revolution has been greatly raised. At present, the cotton peasants are strengthening farm management and striving to bring in a bumper cotton harvest.

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# The Party Committee Must Take the Lead in Firmly Adhering to the Honest Style of Work

by

Jen-min Jih-pao Correspondent

(Peking Jen-min Jih-pao Aug. 7, 1972)

The Party committee member of the artillery regiment of a certain unit of the Peking units seriously and firmly adhered to the principle of "be open and aboveboard, and don't intrigue and conspire" in the course of making mass criticism against swindlers like Liu Shao-ch'i, and they strove to comply with three points: (1) when there is anything to say, place it on the table; (2) when there is problem, don't hide it; (2) correctly deal with criticism.

When they had anything to say, they placed it on the table and didn't discuss it behind the backs of other people. They chatted with each other periodically. At meetings, they were able to speak freely, to cross swords and to say what they thought of others.

When the question of what type of barracks should be constructed was studied in February this year, different opinions were voiced. The standing committee member in charge of barracks construction advocated the construction of wooden barracks because such barracks were simple in structure and convenient to build. Another standing committee member advocated the construction of cement concrete barracks with arched roofs on the ground that they could save timber and reduce construction costs. These two comrades stood for what they advocated at the meeting and a debate ensued.

The majority of comrades present were in favor of the construction of wooden barracks to facilitate early occupation. The standing committee secretary asked all parties to set out the strong points and shortcomings of these two types of barracks and to air their views in full. After three consecutive discussions, a unified understanding was reached. Although the cement concrete barracks with arched roofs were more complicated in structure, because they could save timber and reduce construction costs and were in conformity with the principle of practicing industry and thrift, they should be constructed.

Although the recommendation of the standing committee member in charge of barracks construction was rejected, he arrived at a right perception of the matter, and firmly carried out the decision of the Party committee. He went deep into the construction site and organized the troops to engineer technical reforms on a large scale. He educated the troops to develop the spirit of hard struggle and to get on with the construction of cement concrete barracks with arched roofs, thus saving much money for the state.

They firmly adhered to the principle of being open and aboveboard without concealing problems. The Party committee of this regiment strictly required each member of the Party committee to set an example in daring to

expose and solve contradictions. Recently, this regiment was required by the higher level to make an inventory of its assets for submission to the higher level. In the course of taking inventory, the comrade in charge of the work asked the Party committee whether certain materials in the warehouse which were left over from past construction work should be included in the inventory. Some comrades were of the opinion that such materials should not be reported as the higher level had no knowledge of them, and that the Party committee would have to face criticism if they were reported. The Party committee of the regiment pointed out that problems must not be concealed. The method of arbitrarily keeping things for use was not in correspondence with the principle of being open and aboveboard and gave expression to benefitting of a small circle at the expense of a bigger circle. A wrong thing had been done in the past, and the mistake would be more serious if such materials were not reported. After the matter was discussed and studied, they decided to report all materials, and separately listed the materials that had been arbitrarily kept for use as materials available for disposal.

In order to adhere firmly to the principle of being open and aboveboard, it is imperative to handle correctly criticism from all quarters at the higher or lower level. Proletarian revolutionaries are never afraid of criticism. The Party committee of the regiment regards criticism from the higher level as an indication of concern and care and criticism from the lower level as assistance and impetus. On one occasion, for the purpose of solving the question of heating for the unit, the Party committee planned to install "indigenous heating appliances" in all barracks. After the Party committee of the division discovered this plan, it sternly criticized the Party committee of the regiment for practice of extravagance and waste. Realizing that the installation of "indigenous heating" was extravagance and waste that would lead the unit astray and away from Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, the Party committee of the regiment cancelled its original decision.

The Party committee of this regiment also looks upon boldly heeding the criticism of the lower level as a question of whether firm adherence to the principle of being open and aboveboard can be practiced. On one occasion, a standing committee member bought a number of high-class table lamps for a number of leading comrades. The comrades of the organ were of the opinion that this was done for show and was not in correspondence with the principle of diligence and frugality. Hearing this, the comrade in question at once took the initiative in examining his mistake, and took heed of the criticism. After this, he sent back the table lamps. The action of this Party committee member in humbly heeding what others said and firmly rectifying his mistake also taught the organ comrades a profound lesson. These comrades declared: The leaders are open and aboveboard, and they correct their mistakes once they are aware of them. We also must be open and aboveboard and have no fear of criticism.

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# Give Depth to Education in Line

by

Jen-min Jih-pao correspondent

(Peking Jen-min Jih-pao Aug. 7, 1972)

## Use Advanced Models To Give Impetus to Education in Line

Many advanced models have emerged in the Ch'angch'eng Commune of Yungk'ang hsien in Chekiang province in the course of conducting education in ideology and political line. At first, the Party committee of the commune did not properly bring the role of the advanced models into play, and the same general methods were used to conduct education in line. At a general meeting convened for criticizing and repudiating the reactionary fallacy of "talent decides everything" peddled by swindlers like Liu Shao-ch'i, a barefoot doctor named Lin Shou-ch'ien of the Ch'angch'eng Brigade used his practice of learning the knowledge of using Chinese medicinal herbs for treating the diseases of commune members to make powerful criticism and repudiation. His speech helped the masses understand further the reactionary nature of idealist transcendentalism peddled by swindlers like Liu Shao-ch'i. Because of this, it dawned on the Party committee of the commune that the advanced models emerging from among the masses were good instruction material for conducting education in line. Therefore, the nine committee members of the Party committee of the commune separately went deep into different brigades to learn humbly from the masses with attention paid to discovering and summing up the advanced models who consistently implemented Chairman Mao's revolutionary line and using these advanced models for conducting education in line.

Recently, when the Party committee of the commune analyzed the situation of education in line in the whole commune, it brought up a question: When the line and policies were carried out, there often emerged a tendency of vacillating now to the left and now to the right, and when one kind of tendency was checked, another kind of tendency appeared. However, things were greatly different in the Chingshanhsia Brigade because education in the fundamental line of the Party ran through all kinds of work. Last year, this brigade reaped a bumper grain harvest, but a bad element embezzled the collective grain and undermined the implementation of the Party's distribution policy. The Party branch of the brigade mobilized the masses to criticize and struggle against this bad element, and the Party's distribution policy was carried out to the letter. Subsequently, when the Party branch conducted education in the line of unity and victory of the "9th Congress," the class enemy sowed discord among the cadres behind their backs. The Party branch energetically grasped the struggle against the enemy and promoted unity in the leading body. The experience of this brigade made the Party committee of the commune understand that the class enemy always devised all ways and means to undermine the implementation of Party policies. Therefore, at the time of grasping the implementation of policies, we must pay attention to grasping the class struggle. The cadres of all brigades were greatly inspired after the experience of the Chingshanhsia Brigade was

made known to the whole commune. The comrades declared: "Only by firmly bearing in mind the fundamental line of the Party and sharpening our class vigilance can we overcome vacillation to the 'Left' and the Right in the implementation of policies.

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## The Weak Links Must Be Grasped When Conducting Education in Line

The service personnel of the T'ungyung Machine Works of Changchia-k'ou in Hopei province make up about five percent of the staff members and workers of the whole plant. These personnel are widely dispersed, and they often formed the weak links in all kinds of political movements in the past. On this occasion, the Party committee of the plant has drawn experience and lessons from the past, and through keeping in close touch with realities and conducting investigation and study, has set up study groups in accordance with the characteristics of the different departments for intensifying their education in line. After the service personnel finish work, they go to these groups to take part in study of their own accord.

In the past, safekeeping work was rather chaotic in the warehouse of this plant, and some safekeeping personnel were of the view that safekeeping work simply involved "issuing articles when requested," but not the question of line. After attending a course of education in line, the safekeeping personnel of the warehouse know that there is a question of line in all kinds of work. Whether one is careless and irresponsible in warehouse management or firmly adheres to the policy of diligence and frugality reflects the struggle between the two kinds of ideology and the two lines. In order to operate properly a socialist enterprise, it is necessary to adhere firmly to the general line of achieving greater, faster, better and more economical results in the building of socialism. Therefore, they have set up a strong safekeeping system in the warehouse by firmly adhering to the principle of diligence and frugality, constantly conducting investigation and study in the workshops, opportunely checking the goods in stock and rendering door-to-door service. The workers have a high opinion of them.

Work in the mess hall is rather tense and its hours of work and rest are not in conformity with those of the whole plant. The Party committee of the plant has rationally arranged time for the mess hall workers to conduct study. The cooks and stewards are organized to read seriously in the light of their actual ways of thinking. For example, because some cooks think that "the appetite of the public is difficult to satisfy," they are organized to study seriously "Serve the People" and other brilliant works, and to discuss the question of for whom. All of them have come to understand that their chief trouble is not that the appetite of the public is difficult to satisfy but they lack the mentality of serving the people and have not a high enough level of consciousness in the struggle in line. After their understanding is raised, the cooks and stewards have changed the look of the mess hall through linking their work with the socialist revolution.

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## Energetically Grasp the Struggle for Fostering the Proletarian Ideology and Liquidating the Bourgeois Ideology

In the course of conducting intensive education in the fundamental line of the Party, the Party branch of the Hsinchuangtzu Brigade of the Paimiaotzu Commune in Liaoning Province led the masses to struggle against the class enemy on a number of occasions for the education of the broad masses. However, some leading members still lacked understanding in and failed to exercise a firm hold on the struggle between the socialist road and the capitalist road as reflected among the people in the class struggle and the struggle between the proletarian ideology and the bourgeois ideology in the ideological sphere. In light of this situation, the Party branch operated a study course and led the masses to review the lessons taught by the former Party branch secretary--who failed to grasp firmly these struggles, committed mistakes himself and ideologically corrupted a section of the masses--and to study again and again Chairman Mao's fundamental line for the historical period of socialism. Through study, all deeply realized that the class struggle of the socialist period gave expression not only to the life-and-death struggle between the enemy and ourselves, but also to the struggle between the socialist road and the capitalist road among the people and the struggle between the proletarian ideology and the bourgeois ideology in the ideological sphere. Consequently, it was imperative not only to grasp energetically the struggle against the enemy but also to grasp energetically the struggle between the two roads and the two kinds of ideology among the people.

On one occasion, a commune member sold at a high price a litter of sucking pigs bred by himself. For the purpose of educating this commune member, the Party branch opportunely led the masses to sum up seriously a lesson taught by a commune member of the brigade in question in the past. Starting from selling pigs at a high price, the commune member in question became a speculator and manipulator and committed serious mistakes afterward. The masses were mobilized to make a broad discussion of the subject, "at what price should sucking pigs be sold." Through discussion, all came to understand deeply that while it was correct to actively develop pig breeding for the revolution so as to increase family income from side occupations, a capitalist tendency would develop if the price of sucking pigs were deliberately raised. The commune member who sold his sucking pigs at a high price raised his socialist consciousness and refunded the excessive amount to the buyer. He also made constant use of this lesson to help others and to prevent them from committing a similar mistake.

In the course of criticizing and repudiating the capitalist tendency, the Party branch of the brigade also paid attention to drawing a line of demarcation between the proper domestic side occupations of commune members and the capitalist tendency, thus seriously implementing various economic policies of the Party. The plaiting of mats and other articles has all along been the traditional handicrafts of this brigade. For a period of time, collective production was affected because the commune members spent

too much time in plaiting articles. At the time, without making a serious analysis of the situation, a few cadres simplistically viewed this as a capitalist tendency, and they advocated weeding out the domestic side occupations of commune members. The Party branch organized on the one hand the cadres to study Chairman Mao's relevant teachings and the policies of the Party, and helped them draw a line of demarcation between proper domestic side occupations and the capitalist tendency. On the other hand, through making revolutionary mass criticism, it educated the masses to subordinate domestic side occupations to collective production and to carry out such occupations in the slack season and in sparetime. As a result, collective production was better carried out, and the majority of commune members were able to increase their income and improve their living standards.

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## Be Bold in Dissecting Oneself

### - Postscript -

(Peking Jen-min Jih-pao Aug. 7, 1972)

In the rectification campaign for criticizing revisionism, the CPC Anking District Committee linked itself up with reality, summed up its own experience and lessons gained and learned in the struggle between the two lines and strove to transform its world outlook. Such spirit of boldly dissecting oneself is an expression of the Party spirit of the proletariat.

A proletarian fighter must have the intelligence to know himself and to be good at using the method of one dividing into two to dissect himself. However, there are also some comrades who are bold in dissecting other people but are timid in dissecting themselves. They rejoice over their achievements and blame others for mistakes. When they deviate to the "Left," they emphasize their good subjective wishes, and when they deviate to the Right, they emphasize the concrete conditions of the time. In short, they are "consistently correct." Such a way of thinking and doing work greatly endangers the comrades holding leading posts. It obstructs progress, undermines unity and directly affects the implementation of Chairman Mao's revolutionary line and policies.

A communist or revolutionary cadre must embrace the Marxist dialectical materialist way of thinking and acknowledge the existence of the struggle between the two kinds of world outlook in his mind. He must deeply understand the truth that contradictory things transform themselves into each other under given conditions and be bold in using the viewpoint of one dividing into two to dissect oneself, in continuously exposing and solving contradictions and in overcoming the bourgeois way of thinking with the proletarian way of thinking.

The rectification campaign for criticizing revisionism is a movement for studying Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung thought. Engels said: "In order to have a correct understanding of theory, the best way is to learn from one's own mistakes and 'to learn from the bitter experience one has gone through in person.'" In the rectification campaign for criticizing revisionism, we must criticize revisionism with concentrated strength and seriously sum up our own experience and lessons gained and learned in the struggle between the two lines. We must constantly think of our own weaknesses, shortcomings and mistakes, and consciously use the Marxist stand, viewpoint and method to analyze and dissect ourselves. This process of dissecting oneself is the process of study, the process of using the Marxist "arrow" to shoot at the target of one's own ideological reality. The more a person approaches this consciously, the more he can learn Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung thought, the better he can transform his world outlook and the better he can raise his level of consciousness in the struggle in line.

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# Firmly Adhere to the Energetic But Prudent Policy, Carry Out Properly Work in the Development of Party Membership

## - An inquiry into the development of Party members in every production team by Kuanyün hsien, Kiangsu Province

by

the Investigation Unit of the CPC Huaiyin District Committee

(Peking Jen-min Jih-pao August 30, 1972)

Simultaneously with conducting deep-going education in ideology and political line among the broad Party membership, the CPC Kuanyün Hsien Committee of Kiangsu Province has strengthened the ideological and organizational construction of the Party by striving to carry out properly work in the development of primary Party organizations in the countryside in accordance with the energetic but prudent policy of development. At present, all production teams in the whole hsien have Party members, and with these Party members forming the backbone forces of the production teams, the leadership of the Party has been strengthened in the production teams.

## Energetically Grasping the Struggle between the Two Lines in Party Building

In work to develop Party membership, the Kuanyün Hsien Committee, through firmly and consistently adhering to Chairman Mao's proletarian line in Party building and overcoming interference from the "Left" and the Right, has insured the correct orientation of organizational work.

At the time of developing Liu Yü-chen, the daughter of a poor peasant, for admission into the Party, the majority of comrades in the Party branch attached to the Linchuang Brigade of the Hsiach'e Commune were of the opinion that she was a good seedling because she had the right root, was good in ideology and able to maintain close contacts with the masses and dared to struggle, and she therefore could be admitted into the Party. Some comrades, however, declared: "She is fond of the limelight and a busybody, and since she has tried to poke her nose into our affairs even before her admission into the Party, she has still to go through more tests." What was the matter? In the first place, for the sake of upholding the Party's policy of three-level system of ownership with ownership by the production team as the main level in the rural people's commune, Liu Yü-chen had criticized the brigade for its mistakes in handling the agrarian problems of two production teams, thus offending certain leaders of the brigade.

The Party branch organized people to unify their way of thinking through making a concrete analysis of the behavior of Liu Yü-chen. All were of the opinion that Liu Yü-chen was not fond of the limelight but she dared to speak out and struggle against things at variance with the policy of the Party. It was right and proper for her to poke her nose into their

affairs because this showed her level of consciousness in the struggle in line. They therefore consented to admitting her into the Party.

The hsien committee laid hold of this typical example to make propaganda among different Party branches for the purpose of helping people understand that the yardstick for developing people for admission into the Party could not be good or poor personality, but should be the level of consciousness in the struggle in line.

Should we proceed from looking for people to take over the Party cause or from selfish ideas in work to develop new Party members? This is another question which Kuanyün hsien has come across. Instead of warmly welcoming and actively cultivating the activists that have emerged in the mass struggle, some comrades have just ignored them and even repressed and repudiated them. Unless this ideological obstacle is overcome, it is not possible for the Party organization to absorb new blood.

Educated and trained by the Party, deputy secretary Liu Hsiang-mei of the CYL branch of the Hsiaop'u Brigade in the Tunghsin Commune made faster progress. The Party branch had brought up for discussion a number of times the question of admitting her into the Party, but on each occasion the chairman of the women's federation and a member of the Party branch advanced various "reasons" to oppose the suggestion out of the fear that once Liu was admitted into the Party, she would "take over her post." The principal responsible comrades of the Party committee of the commune and the Party branch went a number of times to chat with this member of the Party branch. They studied together with her Chairman Mao's great teaching concerning the training of successors to the proletarian revolutionary cause, and gave her a profound course of education through telling her the advanced deeds of veteran Party member Chia Chin-ts'ai of the Tachai Brigade in training successors for the revolution. As she recalled how the revolutionary elders educated and trained her when she first joined the revolution, she was very excited and also felt rather ashamed, and she gave unreserved consent to the admission of young Liu into the Party. After young Liu was admitted into the Party, she worked as leader of the women's team of the production team. This Party branch member warmly helped her carry out her work properly and was praised by the masses.

Due to the influence of the trend of thought--which was "Left" in form but Right in essence--spread by swindlers like Liu Shao-ch'i, there was for a period of time and in a number of places a tendency to make no historical analysis of historical problems and to disregard social relations in work to develop Party members out of the belief that "the political gate is held" and "purity is preserved" in this way. At the time of developing the militia platoon commander of the T'aifeng Brigade in the Hsüfeng Commune for admission into the Party, the proposal was not passed on the ground that his father had some historical problems. The responsible comrades of the Party committee of the commune made a historical and class analysis together with the Party branch, and they were of the opinion that his father had commonplace historical problems and the development of a Party member was mainly determined by whether or not his own political conduct was in conformity with the requirements set for Party members. After understanding was unified, all unanimously endorsed his admission into the Party. Through investigation and

study, the Huanyun Hsien Committee members discovered that this tendency bore a universal character. They opportunely led Party organizations at all level to study the proletarian policy of the Party in paying attention to class origin but without taking account of class origin alone and in stressing political conduct, thus insuring the healthy development of Party building work.

"Only the advanced units have advanced elements and it is difficult to find targets for development in the backward units." This muddled idea appeared for a time among some comrades. Is it possible for the backward units to develop Party members? The facts of No. 8 Production Team of the Hohsing Brigade in the T'uho Commune have given an answer to this question.

This production team formerly had no Party members and many people were seriously affected by feudal and clannish ideas. It was a unit with "long-standing, big and difficult" problems. Some people said that "the endeavor to find an advanced element there is more difficult than to fish for a needle in the sea." The Party committee of the commune helped the Party branch criticize and repudiate the "theory of the masses are backward" spread by swindlers like Liu Shao-ch'i, idealism and metaphysics and analyze the historical and present status of the struggle between the two classes and the two lines in this production team. It was discovered that a young girl named Shen Hsiu-ying toiled actively, studied seriously and dared to struggle against the feudal and backward clannish ideas. Having been trained and educated, Shen Hsiu-ying grew continuously to maturity in struggle and she soon joined the Chinese Communist Party.

This fact makes people understand that the struggle between the two classes and the two lines is more complicated and violent in the backward units which certainly have activists who dare to make revolution and struggle. The question lies in whether or not the Party organization is able to analyze problems with the correct viewpoint, discover them in good time, warmly support them and take pains in training them.

## The Key Lies in Strengthening the Leadership

The realization of Party members in every production team through actively and cautiously carrying out work for the development of Party members in KuanyÜn hsien is inseparable from the great attention paid by the leading members of the hsien committee to such work. Their most important experiences are:

To read seriously, to conduct investigation and study and to develop Party members in every production team on the basis of combining theory with practice is an important matter in strengthening the leadership of the Party in production teams. The hsien committee members have studied Chairman Mao's brilliant works "On Correcting Mistaken Ideas in the Party" and "The Struggle in the Chingkang Mountains" and deeply comprehended Chairman Mao's brilliant idea of "The Party branch is organized on a company basis." The "squad members" of the hsien committee have also gone separately to ten brigades to conduct investigations. It is discovered that in production teams with Party

members the majority of whom have played more properly the model role of the vanguard in the three great revolutionary movements, the situation of the revolution and production is better there. On the contrary, in production teams without Party members to give form to a backbone force, Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line and policies are not opportunely and effectively implemented. After due investigation and study, the hsien committee has put these two important matters of developing Party members in every production team and giving the Party members stronger education in ideology and political line on its important agenda. The No. 1 and No. 2 men themselves give a hand in conducting regular research and strengthening the deployment of forces, thus insuring the forward development of such work along Chairman Mao's Party building line.

The whole Party gives a hand in seriously training the backbone forces of the Party branches. The Kuanyün hsien committee has come to understand through practice that the development of Party members in every production team and the education of Party members to play the model role of the vanguard constitute a formidable task that is broad in scope and large in scale. Much work has to be carried out by the Party branches. In order to translate the resolutions of the leaders of the hsien committee into the conscious action of primary Party organizations, it is necessary to carry out properly and in real earnest the work of training the backbone forces of the Party branches. Since 1970, the hsien committee has operated at different times seven courses of study in special topics with the participation of the secretaries and deputy secretaries of Party branches and convened two conferences on political work with the participation of Party group leaders, production team instructors and Party-member team leaders for arming people ideologically, summing up work and exchanging experiences. People have been helped to orient correctly the relationship between organizational construction and ideological construction, to adhere firmly to giving first place to education in ideology and political line, and to overcome satisfaction with organizational development alone and the erroneous tendency to pay attention only to training before joining the Party with no attention paid to ideological construction and education after joining the Party.

In view of the fact that some places often convened "canned" conferences in which communists were mixed with the common masses, the hsien committee has put forward criteria for the advanced elements of the proletariat and measures for strengthening the education of Party members. Stricter demands are set for Party members than the masses and Party members are educated more than the masses. The primary Party organizations are helped and guided to operate properly Party classes, improve the organizational life of the whole Party and unfold active ideological struggle within the Party so that the new and old Party members may strictly require themselves to fulfill the criteria set for the advanced elements of the proletariat and strive to play the model role of the vanguard.

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## Such a Comrade Should Be Admitted into the Party

by

Jen-min Jih-pao correspondent

(Peking Jen-min Jih-pao, August 30, 1972)

Because Comrade Chang Shih-wen of the K'eshih Brigade of the Machuang Commune in Hanyang municipality, Shensi province, dared to fight against the class enemy and erroneous ideas, the masses nicknamed him "the wide-eyed leopard." Last year, the Party branch of the brigade listed him as target for "taking in the fresh." When the Party members and the masses were solicited for their views, most comrades were of the view that he exhibited a high level of consciousness in the struggle in line and they endorsed his admission into the Party. But a few comrades were of the view that this "wide-eyed leopard fails to notice people with his eyes open" and "has poor relations with the masses," and that it would be to the disadvantage of unity if he were "taken in as the fresh." They therefore were against admitting him into the Party.

The Party branch called a committee meeting to study the matter. It decided to mobilize the Party members and the masses to hold a special debate on the question of admitting "the wide-eyed leopard" into the Party and to give them a lively course of education in ideology and political line.

The Party members and the masses made a concrete analysis of the allegation that "Shih-wen fails to notice people with his eyes open and has poor relations with the masses." They first brought out the facts: On one occasion, when a struggle was waged against a law-breaking landlord element, a production team cadre was unwilling to take part in the struggle on the ground that this landlord element came from his family clan. After the "wide-eyed leopard" learned of this, he criticized this cadre for "forgetting his origin after shaking off the feudal yoke and coming to power, and looking upon the class enemy as a friend." He also told the cadre why the clannish relationship should not be used to cover up the class struggle, and helped the latter strengthen the viewpoint of class struggle and take part in the general meeting for criticizing and struggling against the landlord element.

Last year, under the pernicious influence of Liu Shao-ch'i's "money in command" and "freedom of operation," a cadre in the production team wanted to plant melons in the cotton fields. Backed by the poor and lower-middle peasants, the "wide-eyed leopard" came forward to oppose this method of work, thus insuring the implementation of the state cotton planting plan. When the production team brought in a bumper taro crop, someone advocated the distribution of the whole crop to the commune members for sale in the rural fair at a high price. The "wide-eyed leopard" led the masses to make revolutionary mass criticism and he fiercely criticized Liu Shao-ch'i's contraband of "freedom of buying and selling." By way of criticism and repudiation, the correct orientation was set and the line was distinguished. Later, the production team made vermicelli with taro for sale to the state and used the by-product to feed

pigs, thus meeting the livelihood needs of the people in town and country and increasing the income of the collective and the commune members.

Through analyzing these facts, the understanding of all was unified: Chang Shih-wen is able to fix his eyes on the class enemy and he dares to criticize and oppose erroneous tendencies and bourgeois ideas without loosely knitting things together. This exhibits his higher level of consciousness in the class struggle and struggle in line. He is greatly different from the "old good fellows" who relegate to the background things of no personal concern. In order to adhere firmly to the criteria for Party members, we cannot look at "good or poor relations with the masses" in departure from the class struggle and struggle in line, otherwise we are easily fooled by the revisionist Party building line of the swindlers like Liu Shao-ch'i.

Was it true that the "wide-eyed leopard" had eyes only for other people but not for himself? They also brought out the facts that Chang Shih-wen set strict demands for himself and was brave in making self-criticism. On one occasion, his child picked up two handfuls of cotton from the collective cotton field and brought them home. After Chang Shih-wen discovered this, he criticized his child and asked him to hand the cotton back to the production team. He also made at a meeting a self-examination of his shortcoming in failing to educate his child adequately. Some commune members said: "Forget it, the picking up of two handfuls of cotton by a child is a matter of little significance." But Chang Shih-wen said: "Though the cave is small, the wind is strong. Attention must also be paid to these things of little significance." This episode greatly enlightened the commune members, and some commune members who had picked up cotton from land owned by the production team consciously handed it back. Many comrades declared: Chang Shih-wen not only dares to criticize the shortcomings and mistakes of other people, but also fearlessly makes self-criticism. In this connection, he is different from those people who "only focus their flashlights on other people but not on themselves." In the end, all were unanimously of the opinion that the "wide-eyed leopard" gave a good account of himself in the class struggle and the struggle in line and had basically acquired every requisite expected of a communist.

Meanwhile, they also pointed out Chang Shih-wen's shortcomings. He was sometimes one-sided when looking at a problem because he paid greater attention to the shortcoming of his comrades and was over-simple in method of work, thus hurting the feelings of certain comrades. They expressed the hope that side by side with firm adherence to principle, he must be good at uniting his com comrades. They encouraged him to study seriously Chairman Mao's books, develop his strong points and overcome his shortcomings.

At the end of the debate, all Party members endorsed the admission of Chang Shih-wen into the Chinese Communist Party. With the approval of the Party committee at a higher level, Comrade Chang Shih-wen joined the Party in August last year. After he joined the Party, he exhibited modesty and prudence, guarded against conceit and impatience, and forged ahead full of vigor and vitality along the road of continuing with the revolution.

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# Warmly Train Those Comrades Who Seek Party Membership

by

Jen-min Jih-pao correspondent

(Peking Jen-min Jih-pao, August 30, 1972)

A few production teams in the Kanho Commune of Changan hsien, Shensi province, have no Party members. Because the strength of the Party is weak, the revolution and production are developing at a slower rate in these production teams. The Party committee of the commune is of the opinion that since the production team is the basic accounting unit of the rural people's commune, in order to carry out correctly the line and policies of the Party and to implement the task of consolidating the proletarian dictatorship at the grass-root level in the countryside, it is necessary to reinforce the strength of leadership of the Party at the grass-root level. Therefore, the training and development of Party members in these production teams in accordance with the Party policy of active and cautious development constitutes a question of utmost importance.

The Party committee of the commune consciously lists the work of training and developing Party members as an important matter for discussion on the agenda. The secretary grasps such work in person together with all committee members. The Party committee of the commune and the Party branches of various brigades periodically run study courses and seriously study the work of developing Party members.

The advanced fighters of the proletariat have to be trained with the correct line. The Party committee members of this commune incessantly overcome the idea of admission only without training, and they warmly train those activists who seek Party membership. They adopt the media of Party classes and require the activists seeking Party membership to be educated in Chairman Mao's Party building line and the fundamental knowledge of the Party. They pay even greater attention to tempering and testing in the three great revolutionary movements the activists who seek Party membership and to training and observing them in the stormy revolution.

Pai Kuang-yin of the Hungch'i Brigade was good in ideology and strong in work zeal, but his method of work was over-simple, and he was not good at conducting ideological and political work according to Party policies. The Party organization recommended that he be sent to the Tayü Reservoir to serve as commander of the civilian laborers' platoon. Educated by the words and deeds of many Party members, he learned humbly from the masses and gradually improved his ability to conduct ideological and political work. On one occasion, in the battle against flood water, this company went where life was hardest and most dangerous, and it was praised by the leadership and the masses. After Pai Kuang-yin was admitted into the Party, the Party committee of the commune again sent him to another place to take charge of manufacturing and planting work, and together with other comrades he accomplished his task in an outstanding manner under formidable circumstances.

The Party committee of this commune cherishes most and shows utmost concern for the enthusiasm of those comrades who seek Party membership, and it pays attention to mobilizing all Party members to do training work. Party members are designated to give concrete assistance to all objects for development and orient correctly their motive for joining the Party. For comrades who have been approved to join the Party, there is no relaxation of efforts in education, and they are encouraged to look upon their joining the Party organizationally as the new starting point for the continuation of the revolution and to strive to join the Party ideologically. In the case of comrades who have not been admitted into the Party, simultaneously with affirming their progress, their deficiency is pointed out so that they can make efforts in the correct direction. As a result, the revolutionary enthusiasm of the broad masses of activists is further aroused and their revolutionary desire to advance is strengthened.

In work to develop Party members, the Party committee of the Kanho Commune opposes all erroneous methods that lower the criteria set for Party members. It strictly uses the five requirements set for communists as the criteria, develops the matured one by one but leaves undeveloped those who are immature for the time being, and never does anything with reluctance. Last year, an argument arose when Liu P'ing of the Ch'ienchin Brigade was developed for admission into the Party. During the movement for "hitting at one thing and opposing three things," Liu P'ing discovered that an elder brother from her own family committed acts of corruption. She ignored personal consideration and took the lead in exposing him at a meeting. Some people were of the opinion that Liu P'ing dared to adhere firmly to principles, was strong in struggle character and embodied the revolutionary spirit of a communist, but some people were of the view that she was "fond of the limelight" "turned against an old acquaintance," and lacked what was required of a Party member. The Party committee of the commune seriously analyzed these two kinds of views and was of the opinion that the essence of the argument was the principled question of whether or not it was necessary to adhere firmly to the advanced character of the Party. It therefore decided that this dispute should be settled under the direct leadership of the secretary to the Party committee of the commune. Through study, criticism and repudiation and analysis, all were unanimously of the opinion that because Liu P'ing did not advocate harmony for the sake of harmony and set aside personal consideration on the question of principle, she possessed precisely the requisites expected of the advanced elements of the proletariat, and they unanimously endorsed her admission into the Party.

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# An Interview Prior to Admission into the Party

by

Jen-min Jih-pao correspondent

(Peking Jen-min Jih-pao, August 30, 1972)

The general meeting of the Party branch attached to the 4th company of a certain PLA unit approved the admission of fighter Ch'en Ch'ang-ken of No. 1 Squad into the Party. Before the recommendation was examined and approved by the Party committee of the battalion, Party committee secretary and political instructor Yang Ch'un-ch'i was designated to interview Ch'en Ch'ang-ken.

What was to be discussed? Yang Ch'un-ch'i thought seriously. He carefully looked through Ch'en Ch'ang-ken's personal records and application for Party membership, examined over and over again the resolution adopted by the general meeting of the Party branch on admission of Ch'en Ch'ang-ken into the Party, and studied the comments of the sponsors. After that, he asked the Party branch secretary of the 4th company, the head of the Party group and the sponsors for detailed information and compared notes with them, and he also made inquiries among comrades who were better acquainted with Ch'en Ch'ang-ken. Through investigation, it became evident that Ch'en Ch'ang-ken was really a good comrade. However, these comrades shared one common view with respect to Ch'en Ch'ang-ken. They said that while he was very strict with himself, he dared not boldly criticize the shortcomings and mistakes of other people and often said a few words that touched lightly on problems and bore little relevance. Yang Ch'un-ch'i made further inquiries into things symbolized by this and why.

Yang Ch'un-ch'i carefully analyzed the materials obtained and found the essence of the question. He was of the view that Ch'en Ch'ang-ken was unable to boldly criticize erroneous ideas, and this showed the inferiority of his struggle character, his weak revolutionary principled stand, his skin-deep comprehension of the five requisites expected of a Party member, and in the final analysis his low level of consciousness in the struggle in line. Therefore, Yang Ch'un-ch'i sternly pointed out to the Party branch of the 4th company this deficiency in work to develop Party members, and asked its members to pay attention to rectifying it. He also decided to give Ch'en Ch'ang-ken a course of education in this connection during the interview.

Two days afterward, Yang Ch'un-ch'i gave Ch'en Ch'ang-ken a formal interview. He first discussed the nature and task of the Party and the great significance of joining the Chinese Communist Party. Next, he studied together with Ch'en Ch'ang-ken Chairman Mao's teaching that a communist should "always and everywhere adhere to principle and wage a tireless struggle against all incorrect ideas and actions." He pointed out that launching active ideological struggle and daring to adhere firmly to Party principles "are weapons for attaining unity within the Party and revolutionary bodies to enhance fighting." Swindlers like Liu Shao-ch'i spread the "theory of peace within the Party" in a vain attempt to do away with ideological struggle within the Party, to transform our Party into a "good fellow party" and to corrupt the souls of our Party members so as to turn them into docile tools for restoring capitalism.

We could never be fooled! This talk left a deep impression in Ch'en Ch'ang-ken. He said: "The talk by the Party committee secretary of the battalion has given me a concrete course of education in ideology and political line and made me understand further how to be a communist full of vigor and vitality."

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The battalion Party committee of a certain PLA unit paid great attention to the examination and approval of new Party members, and before approval was given, it solemnly and seriously talked to comrades applying for Party membership. This way of doing things is very good because it exhibits its high sense of responsibility toward the Party and new Party members.

Before approving a new Party member, the Party committee conducted intensive and careful investigation and analysis and helped the primary Party committee made a serious examination of the new Party member. This is of great advantage to consolidating and purifying the Party organization. A concrete course of education in ideology and political line directed against the problems of ideology and knowledge of the new Party members can help them raise further their level of consciousness, see clearly the orientation of their efforts after joining the Party, and gradually join the Party ideologically.

--Jen-min Jih-pao editor

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## It Is Imperative To Make a Class Analysis of "Not Making Concession to People"

--Postcript--

(Peking Jen-min Jih-pao, August 30, 1972)

Should a comrade who dares to adhere to principle and "makes no concession to people" with his eyes open be admitted into the Party? A number of articles published by this newspaper today have all brought up this question. This is a question that merits attention.

It is imperative to make a class analysis of "not making concession to people." For a comrade who is particular about Party principle and does not talk in terms of human sentiments and the ways of the world, such a way of "making no concession to people" is very good indeed.

We have but one criterion for judging whether an utterance or an action is right or wrong, and this is to see whether or not it is in conformity with the interests of the Party and the broad masses and with Chairman Mao's revolutionary line. All words and deeds that are in conformity with the interests of the Party and the people and with Chairman Mao's revolutionary line should be supported; those that run counter to them should be firmly opposed. No exception should be taken of this principle no matter whether we are dealing with people at a higher or lower level, people well known to us, our clansmen, schoolmates, relatives or friends, or our own kinsmen.

"The philosophy of the Communist Party is the philosophy of struggle." A communist must stand at the forefront of the class struggle and lead the masses to fight heroically and tenaciously against the class enemy. He must dare to adhere firmly to principle and the correct line and to wage an untiring struggle against all incorrect ideas and acts as well as the erroneous line. Only selflessness can lead to fearlessness. When selfish ideas are ceaselessly overcome, we no longer fear the dragon in front and the tiger behind, nor are we misled by the "waves" and "currents," and held down by relatives, friends and old acquaintances. We dare to criticize others and are also bold enough to make self-criticism. We dare to adhere firmly to principle and are also good at uniting our comrades. This is why it is very good indeed for comrades Chang Shih-wen, Liu Yü-chen and Liu P'ing to "make no concession to people." Their "making no concession to people" expresses precisely their higher level of consciousness in the struggle and the struggle in line.

In their work to develop new Party members, certain Party organizations sometimes depart from this key link of class struggle and struggle in line. They are more willing to admit those "good old fellows" who are docile and obedient but dare not adhere firmly to principle, but they extend less welcome to those "nettlesome" and "bellowing" fellows who dare to adhere firmly to principle. Some even handle the work of developing Party members with sectarian sentiments. All this reflects the pernicious influence of the revisionist Party building line of the swindlers like Liu Shao-ch'i. In the course of conducting deep-going education in ideology and political line, it is

imperative to launch further revolutionary mass criticism and eliminate the pernicious influence of the revisionist Party building line so that Chairman Mao's Party building line can be truly carried out to the letter.

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